1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602 195 [193] father-in-law can be referred to by the son-in-law as "one for whom I carry burdens" and also as "he who is old." The question of whether polite form is to be required and the mode of notification are the business of the woman's relatives.

As soon as the relatives of the girl heard about it, those who intended to do so started to use the polite form the next time they saw me. They told me that I should use the polite form to them, and in that very sentence they used it themselves. So they really used it first.

Polite form begins immediately after marriage. Sometimes the individual tells you to use the polite form; sometimes he or she just uses it to you, and you must use it in return.

Perfect decorum must be maintained when two "who are ashamed in words" are together:

You can't pass water, defecate, or use smutty language when anyone to whom you use polite form is around. If one of them is in an embarrassing or ridiculous position, you cannot laugh at him but must leave the place immediately. You have to be careful of your language, too, when someone like this is around.

[551] Ordinarily, names may be used in speaking of absent persons, but a stricter usage is observed by a polite-form affinity:

You don't call the name of a man to whom you use polite form. If you do have to mention his name, you have to add something, as "the one who is known as C." or "the one who is called C." Others can use his name before you though. Usually in referring to him you just say "the one who is an affinity to me."

602 195 596 [476] [426] It is evident that these observances are related to that same economic solidarity which exists between avoidance relatives:

I feel that if I needed some service or property I could ask it of someone to whom I used the polite form. I'd be sure of getting it. If I were having a girl go through the puberty ceremony, I might ask these people for help, and a man helps his wife's relatives meet the expense of a ceremony which his wife's relatives are putting on. You can take property privileges with anyone to whom you use the polite form. You can borrow property from them freely, for you know they will never say anything to you that is disrespectful. You have more rights in this respect than you would with your own family.

602 195 578 [273] But in spite of convention, polite form, like avoidance, often masks repressed dislikes:

Some people, when they get drunk, will fight their own fathers. And they don't care if someone they have to be polite to tries to handle them. Even though they are supposed to be ashamed before a person, that isn't going to hold them down when they're drunk. Sometimes they don't like a person they are ashamed before in words, and then, when they are drunk, it comes out.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

754 [291] one way of finding them out. . . . . They say that a man is surely a witch if he is rich and yet doesn't wear clean clothes."

[147] Though one informant asserted that "witches have a peculiar odor, something like the odor of spoiled meat; if you smell it, it may have a bad influence on you," others rejected this idea.

[262] Sensitivity to elk meat provides a test: "If you are a witch and eat elk, you throw up. Elk meat stays down in a good man."

It is not unusual for a trap to be laid for the sorcerer:

[273] There was a fellow who was considered a witch. You know that tiswin or beer that the Indians make out of corn. One shaman had a root which, if given to a witch in this tiswin or in coffee, would kill him. It wouldn't do harm to any other person. A man told me about this incident who was present when it happened. It was thought that the man to whom this was done was a witch, because shamans had often pointed to him as the man who caused sickness. So this shaman told several people privately that he was going to give the root to the witch in tiswin this time. He told the other people to go ahead and drink the tiswin, for it wouldn't harm them. When the witch came over, some of this root was put in his tiswin. The witch went home and soon had stomach trouble. He died in a few days. Other people drank the same tiswin and were all right.

754 787 The victim's guardian spirit may furnish information about the attacks of the witch:

My children and my wife all died over at the hospital. They died because the doctor can't help them in matters of witchcraft. I could tell by my dream that my wife was witched. In my dream I heard a voice that told me. Sometimes the witch appeared to me in my dream. But I could not stop it. I know who the witches who killed my wife and children were. They are dead now. In my dream I saw that some witches just talk, just go through a ceremony of words, and influence the people that way. Since that time I have not cared much about dreams; I did not care to be notified any more.

75 578 Very often none of the devices enumerated serves to ferret out the evildoer. "A man might be living with a witch and not know it; it might be his wife." The witch who so skilfully masks his identity is exposed only when a ceremony over a sick person is held by a shaman powerful enough to learn the true cause. Accordingly, the most spectacular curing rites are those which constitute a battle, not against natural indispositions nor yet against the evil influence of dangerous animals and forces, but against the sorcerer.

The word "battle" is chosen advisedly. The entire contest be-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

tween the shaman and the witch is phrased in terms of warfare. The sorcerer is said to "shoot" his victim with "arrows" (the witchcraft objects). Consequently, to intercept these arrows is literally to disarm the witch, and this is what the shaman tries to do. Then, with his good power, he attempts to shoot the arrows back into the witch. But if the shaman is not "strong" enough to accomplish this, he himself may fall ill, because the very witchcraft objects which he has extracted from his patient are now "sticking in him." Thus, the machinery of witchcraft, once put into motion, does not halt until some victim has been claimed—the object of the witch's ire, the witch, or the shaman. "The witch can take off the witching he has put on you, but he has 'given' your life when he put on the witching, and to take it off he must offer some other life in its place."

Only a self-confident ceremonialist will press a cure when he has ascertained that the primary cause is witchcraft:

> A shaman has a good power and can make a sick person well, but if the person for whom he is singing is very sick and the sickness is caused by a witch, the shaman is very much afraid of that witch. Sometimes he can't get the sick person well, because the witch might be more powerful than he is. Or he might cure the sick person and then, if the sick person was witched, the shaman might die instead.

Nearly everyone is alarmed lest such evil influence sometime be directed against him. But no member of the tribe acknowledges mastery of sorcery or will say that he has ever employed a sorcerer. If rites purposely conducted to gain evil ends exist, they are conducted in secret. Some confessions from witches have been obtained, according to informants, but always as a result of duress and torture. Boasts of witchcraft accomplished and open threats occasionally occur, but without exception under the influence of drink. Of one man it was said, "Every time he got drunk he would tell someone, 'I'm a witch and I'm going to kill you.' So one time they killed him." These drunken threats do raise the possibility that there are individuals who believe that their imprecations actually harm those against whom they bear ill will.

One characteristic often attributed to the sorcerer is sexual

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

252 262 "The stomach isn't often eaten. Now when we butcher a cow, the stomach is thrown away."

Birds that are considered edible are most often boiled. Turkeys are eviscerated, plucked, and then boiled, for instance.

251 [462] It is the woman's task, also, to preserve any surplus meat by "jerking" it:

> She takes the thick parts, cuts them thin, and hangs them up to dry in the sun. To use the meat after it is dried, she pounds it up with a stone. It can be mixed with fat then and eaten like this without being cooked. Or even without the fat it is used on the march and in emergencies. When the people are in no hurry, this pounded meat can be added to soup, boiled in water, or fried. It will soften when boiled in water. This dried meat, in strips or in pounded form, can be kept in caches or carried in sacks. Jerked meat, when the people are camping in one place for a time, is laid over the higher limbs of a near-by tree.

THE PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES

273 462 [292] The preparation of beverages, both alcoholic and nonalcoholic, is classified with cooking and is, therefore, the task of the woman. Of tiswin-making it was said: "A man would never [558] [156] make tiswin. It would lower his standing. One man used to make it, but he was a roughneck, and didn't care about his standing. He lowered himself many times."

292 The juice of the prickly pear is occasionally drunk, but "for health" rather than for quenching thirst. Drinks which are compared to commercial coffee and tea are described:

> In those days when coffee was scarce, some people used the bark of different trees, such as oak [Gambel oak] to make a drink. Some used a plant for tea. It is [824] better than the tea you buy. The English name for it is lip fern. It grows all around here. There is another plant [cota] that is used for tea too. To make it, some is just broken into convenient pieces, put in a pot, boiled, and the water drained off. It is about the same color as store tea and tastes much the same.

273 [824] Alcoholic beverages are made from mescal, sotol, mesquite, and, more recently, from maize and wheat. Tiswin, the maize drink, is the only one of these beverages which is made or consumed in appreciable quantities. The people have become very [554] fond of this mild beer, and the services and company of a woman who can make it well are in constant demand.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

It is possible that all these alcoholic beverages were inspired by the customs of Mexican Indians and the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south, as is suggested in this recipe for a sotol drink: 273 177

There is a story that the Mexicans were making a drink out of sotol. I don't know whether the Indians used to make it or not, but I guess they did because I used to hear the old men say that it makes a good drink. To make it, roast the crown of sotol in an underground oven just as mescal is roasted for food. Then mash it up. Squeeze the juice out. Let the juice stand, sometimes in a hide in the ground, until it ferments. If the weather is warm, it does not take more than a day after it is standing. Then strain it, and it is ready to use.

In much the same way a drink is made from fermented mescal juice: 273

Roast the mescal in a pit just as if you were going to eat it. Pull off the outer leaves and cut the soft inner part into small pieces. Pound them, put the pounded mescal in a hide, and bury the hide in the ground. Cover this and let it ferment for two days. Then take it out and squeeze it by hand and mix the juice with some water. It will bubble for a day or two, and then it is ready. It gets strong.

The drink from mesquite beans is no more difficult to prepare:

The women know how to make a drink out of mesquite beans by boiling them, draining off the water when they are soft, mashing the beans, and letting the material stand and ferment.

The favorite drink, however, is tiswin, or "gray water," a weak corn beer. The maize used in its manufacture was obtained by trade or theft from Mexican Indians, Pueblo Indians, and white settlers before reservation days. Tiswin is considered the most nourishing of the beverages and is often spoken of as a food, because its mild stimulation when taken in moderate quantities has helped many a person withstand the rigors of travel and want. "Many used tiswin for food in the old days. Many even gave it to children when they didn't have anything else to feed them." Tiswin is also considered the appropriate beverage to serve during any social occasion. [439] [648] [262] [574]

To make tiswin the woman takes mature corn and shells it. She wants it good and dry to start with. She soaks it in water all night. In the morning she puts grass in a long trench, puts the corn kernels on top of this, and lays another layer of grass over it. On top of this she may throw some dirt, or she may just put a

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

273 blanket over the trench. Each morning she sprinkles the corn kernels and each evening she sprinkles them just a little too. She does this for ten days or two weeks. The kernels begin to sprout, and when the sprouts are about an inch and a half long, she takes them out. She grinds them between two stones and makes them fine. She goes over them twice more.

The ground corn is put in water then and boiled until half the water is gone. It takes four or five hours to boil it down to where it should be. The container is filled to the top with water again and the brew is boiled until it is a little way from the top. The woman strains off the liquid now, lets it cool, and puts it in a water jar or gourd. Some cover the jar to make the tiswin work faster.

Different women have their own ways of fixing it from this point on. Some put aside some roasted mescal to ferment. Afterward they squeeze out the juice and mix it with the tiswin. Nowadays some add ground wheat. The woman who is making this tiswin grinds some wheat and puts it in the jar. She sprinkles it on top with a circular, sunwise motion. She speaks to it as she does so, saying, "I want you to make it good and not for fighting. I want everyone who drinks you to be happy, not angry."

In an hour the contents of this water jar is bubbling, moving around. If the tiswin is put in the jar in the evening, by late afternoon of the next day, when it stops bubbling, it is ready.

The corn and wheat sediment at the bottom are taken out. This material at the bottom is called "waste." It is always squeezed and the liquid from it saved and drunk by the woman who makes the batch.

After the tiswin is ready it will keep about a day and a half. It will be too sour for drinking after that. The taste is salty. It has a tendency to make you put on weight if you drink too much of it. There are many ways of fixing tiswin. Some shave oak root and put pieces of this in to make it strong. Some put mesquite beans in for the same reason. Now they even put yeast in to make it strong.

There is a proper manner of drinking tiswin, and its effects are, of course, well known:

We eat, all right, before we drink tiswin, but not too much. I learned this from B. and some other old men. I have noticed, myself, that if I eat a big dinner and then drink tiswin, I get hardly any effect. And you haven't got room enough to drink if you eat a big meal. Pretty soon you feel sick and can't drink. The two things are fighting in there, and something has to be done. But when you get through drinking you sure can eat! I've noticed that B. can eat about half a steer after drinking tiswin.

That tiswin surely cleans you out! It makes you drunk all right, but it's corn, and it feeds your body. And for two or three days afterward it makes your urine just as white and clear as can be! It must do something to purify the urine. And it acts like castor oil too; it cleans you right out.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

522 who was telling a group about his ability as a leader was interrupted by a hearer who, deliberately pretending to have misunderstood, remarked, "Yes, we all know you can shake your head pretty hard!"

Another story that points to the quality of the humor is an account of nonchalance under trying circumstances. An old man on horseback was attempting to pass a knot of his friends with some show of dignity. Just then his horse bucked, threw him, and ran ahead. Instead of waiting for the mirth of the beholders, the man pulled out his tweezers the moment he hit the ground and with great unconcern began plucking his whiskers.

PARTIES, DANCES, AND STORY-TELLING

• 273 574 The preparation of tiswin is almost always followed by a party to which friends and neighbors of both sexes are invited, for the beer is made in relatively large quantities and sours if it is not used at once.

My first tiswin party came when I was about fourteen years old. It was during the summer. A woman who was noted for the good tiswin she made told me to tell my grandmother to come over that afternoon, for she had some tiswin. She invited me too. I went right over to my grandmother and told her. I went with her and attended that party. It was just a social occasion. I drank a lot and got to feeling good. I was not used to it, but I didn't get sick. It lasted about two hours.

[576] They sit around and tell stories at these parties, laughing and talking. A man with a bad temper could not get in. It is considered very impolite to come in to a party without an invitation, but some get around this. They hate to miss it and find some excuse for coming there. One cup is kept going. The woman who gives the party does the dishing-out. A boy of about fourteen can attend. Usually a girl has to be a little older. After this I attended tiswin parties whenever I could.

273 574 533 535 Social dancing and singing sometimes add to the pleasures of a tiswin party. Even the women, when a certain point of gaiety is reached, may elect to act as singers, though this is not their customary role:

One time Mrs. S. and C.'s wife sang social dance songs. The men were all played out. One got the drum and the other helped her. In the old days the Chiricahua woman sometimes sang songs and used the drum too. They used to do it for the round dance. They would get around in a bunch and sing and drum.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

ent time. They are not only eaten without preparation but are boiled and quite frequently cooked with meat or just the bones of animals, in combination with green chile and onions. Wood sorrel *(Oxalis violacea)* is often mixed with other leaves to be cooked or is eaten raw. The tops of fetid marigold *(Dysodia papposa)* and shepherd's purse *(Capsella bursa-pastoris)* are also used as greens, either cooked alone or with meat.

The young white rootstocks of cat-tail *(Typha latifolia)* were frequently gathered in the spring of the year and cooked with meat, as were the corm-like tubers of the sedge *(Cyperus fendlerianus)*. These were peeled and cooked or eaten raw. The Apache name for the last species, "feed to horse," was so given because the flowers and seeds were salted and fed to horses, and were said to be very fattening. The bulbs of wood-sorrel *(Oxalis violacea)* were eaten raw or, when abundant, were boiled. The raw fleshy roots of chimaja, also known as wild celery *(Cymopterus fendleri)*, were also utilized.

Leaves of dragon-head *(Dracocephalum parviflorum)*, the mint *(Mentha penardi)*, horsemint *(Monarda menthaefolia)*, and the pennyroyal *(Hedeoma nana)* were commonly used for flavoring. These Apache say that if they had no pepper this last named species was substituted in soups, but was not added until the soup had finished cooking. They also used the mint to keep water "cool," but probably meant that it made water more palatable to drink by imparting to it a cooling flavor. Hops *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were gathered in October, boiled, and used for flavoring in a considerable variety of ways. Formerly they were mixed with mesquite and screw bean flour (see p. 41) but at present they are mixed with wheat flour; they were also combined with wild potatoes to give flavor. More commonly they were used to flavor *tulbai*, the drink made from fermented maize. Wild onions *(Allium cernuum* and *A. geyeri)* flavored soups and gravy but were occasionally eaten raw. A sage, *Artemisia ludoviciana*, was also a flavoring substance for meat. A plant in very common use by vari-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

mony *(6:296)* reported the use of sunflower seeds among the Apache who ground them on a metate and made the resulting flour into cakes; Bourke *(2:47)* referred to the Apache and other Indian groups as having cultivated the sunflowers about 1870, the seeds of which were ground with corn into meal and made into cakes. Bourke's information that the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache cultivated the sunflower is probably erroneous for these Indians are not known to have ever cultivated this plant. A jam made from the fruits of the three-leaved sumac *(Rhus trilobata)* was formerly extensively eaten with bread made from sunflower seeds. This jam is no longer in common use.

Seeds of other plants ground to make bread were notably false flax *(Camelina microcarpa)*, tansy mustard *(Sophia incisa)*, and the thistle *(Cirsium pallidum)*, none of which, however, were utilized extensively. The plants were threshed mechanically—false flax and thistle by shaking vigorously in the sack in which they were collected, tansy mustard by beating the pods with sticks. They were then winnowed, formerly in a hide because the seeds, especially those of false flax, would go through a burden basket, although a *tsa* (shallow basket) could be used. The flour from these species of seeds was made into dough and baked or the seeds might simply be boiled and eaten as were sunflower seeds.

The ripe pods of the vetch, *Vicia melilotoides*, as well as the wild pea, *Lathyrus leucanthus*, were cooked and eaten, or they might be dried and stored, to be soaked and boiled later.

BEVERAGES AND NARCOTICS

The most common and important drink among the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache was *tulbai* (an Apache term meaning "water, grey" from the Apache *tu*—"water" and *bai* from *tibai*—"grey") One occasionally reads about the Apache using *tiswin*, also *twilt-kah-yee*. Cremony *(6:245)* wrote of an intoxicating beverage by the latter name, distributed freely by the Apache at their puberty

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

273 [192] ceremonies. The Spanish-American name is *tesvino*, probably connected with *vino*—wine, and the Americans have altered it to *tiswin*. *P'tiswing* was evidently another modification of *tesvino* or *tiswin*. The Indians, many of whom spoke Spanish, often used the term *tesvino* and now often use *tiswin* instead of the native term. *Tulapai* and *twiltkah-yee* were probably attempts of the whites to pronounce the native name. To make the beverage, shelled maize was soaked in water for about twenty-four hours and placed in a narrow trench lined on both sides with grass. The maize was covered with grass and soil, then with a blanket; or sometimes the blanket was laid directly over the corn without the use of grass and soil. Each morning the trench was sprinkled with water to facilitate the germination of the maize. When the corn-sprouts were about one and one-half inches long the seedlings were removed from the trench and finely ground twice between two rocks, then boiled in water until the mixture was reduced to half the original quantity. Enough water was added to fill the vessel and the liquid again boiled for a short time (until about two inches from the top of the vessel), strained through a cloth (at present a flour-sifter is often used), and cooled. It was allowed to ferment in a water jar until about noon of the next day, when it was ready for consumption. According to Hrdlička (*11*:191), as well as Browne (*3*:411), the general practice was to place the mash in a jar that previously had been used for brewing and which was never washed, the pores of the vessel retaining the organisms necessary to start fermentation. In the absence of sugar, mesquite flour (*Prosopis glandulosa*) [263] or sahuaro syrup (*Carnegiea gigantea*) was used as sweetening. This finished product is known as *tulbai* and must be drunk within a few hours after it is prepared or "it gets weak and is no good." In other words, the alcohol is converted into acetic acid, giving the beverage a sour taste.

273 462 Mention should be made here that the preparation of this beverage was the woman's work and prerogative, and men seldom had anything to do with the brewing. Some of

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

the women became quite proficient and well known for their abilities along this line. 273 [462]

The above was the usual method of preparing *tulbai* but a number of variations of the process have been developed. Ground wheat was often added to the boiled corn to make the beverage foam, also to make it stronger. Occasionally yeast was combined with the mixture and not infrequently the juice of fermented mescal was squeezed into the liquid to hasten fermentation as well as to give a blended flavor. Chips of shaved oak root *(Quercus grisea)* gave the *tulbai* flavor, and mesquite root *(Prosopis glandulosa)*, dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*, and hop flowers *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were used for the same purpose, and to make the drink stronger. Hrdlička *(12:27)* referred to small quantities of roots of native plants being added to *tulbai* as "medicine." Our observation is that this needs qualification, to the extent that the Apache do say that *tulbai* is "good for you" and "cleans you out," but they do not use it in the first instance as medicine. [137] [824]

Frequently, wheat instead of corn was used to make the beverage, the process of germination, grinding, boiling, and fermenting being the same as with corn.

Both the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache claim that they had no knowledge of *tulbai* in the distant past and that its use penetrated among them from the south. Most accounts have it that the Lipan Apache brought it northward, but some state it was learned from the natives of northern Mexico. Hrdlička *(11:190)* and Browne *(3:411)* are of the opinion that the preparation and use of this beverage was learned by the Apache from the Mexican Indians, Hrdlička recording that it was brought to the White River Apache from the more southerly Chiricahua Apache, who were said to have learned to make it in Mexico. 273 179

Murphy *(16:347)*, writing in 1865 as military superintendent of the Mescalero Apache, recorded his reluctance to give these Indians whole corn because they made from it an intoxicating drink—*"teeswin"* on which they got very drunk. In consequence no corn, but corn flour, 273 648

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

273 648 was issued to them. The Mescalero Apache were reported by their agent *(24:*291) in 1900, as having made no *tulbai* since 1897. This is widely at variance with other reports and studies, however, for large quantities are known to have been made and consumed during that period.

273 [137] Hrdlička *(12:*28) recorded that the Mescalero Apache formerly made an intoxicating drink from the inner bark of the western yellow pine *(Pinus scopulorum)*, and this was at times mixed with *tulbai*.

Another alcoholic drink among these Indians was mescal. The mescal crowns were roasted as described under the section on foods, and the outer leaves removed. The inner portion was cut into pieces, pounded until soft, and the pulp placed in a pouch made of animal hide. This was buried in the ground where it was usually allowed to remain for two days, although the Indians claimed that the longer it was buried the better it became. When removed from the ground the juice was squeezed from the pulp into a container and allowed to ferment for two or three days, when it was ready for use. Thus prepared, the mescal drink was quite potent. An occasional Apache allowed the mescal juice to spoil (change to a high percentage of acetic acid) before getting drunk on it. Cremony *(6:*217), in 1868, reported that the Apache made a drink by macerating the mescal root in water and allowing the mixture to ferment for several days, after which the liquid was boiled down to produce a strong intoxicating beverage. This use of the root seems unusual for we have nowhere encountered this custom among these Apache.

[137] Similarly, sotol crowns *(Dasylirion wheeleri)* formerly were pit-baked for one night only, removed, peeled, crushed, mixed with a small amount of water in a rawhide container, and allowed to ferment underground about a day, or until fermentation had practically ceased, when the drink was [415] ready for use. The concoction was also placed in pitch covered water jars or in wooden jugs cut from trees. Informants reported that the beverage might be allowed to stand for a month before being used. We have not been able to learn

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

from our informants that these Apache ever distilled this or any other alcoholic beverage. 273

Both sotol and mescal beverages were reported as being older than *tulbai*. Informants said that they learned the use of *tulbai* from the Lipans and the Yaqui. [177]

Another mildly intoxicating alcoholic beverage formerly prepared, although at present not in common use, was made by finely grinding cooked mesquite *(Prosopis glandulosa)* pods and seeds. A little water was added during the grinding process and more to the ground mass, then the mixture allowed to ferment for a day and a night. This is a very old drink among the Apache. [137] [178]

These Apache formerly prepared and still make pinole as a very common drink. The fresh fruits of screw bean *(Strombocarpa pubescens)* were ground and to the meal was added some sweetening substance (sugar is now used) to make a thick drink. Another method of preparation was boiling the fruit until it got soft, making a sort of gruel, then adding the sweetening substance and drinking it. 272 [137]

The fruits of a number of species of Opuntia or prickly pear cactus were and still are mashed, the juice extracted and drunk, without fermenting, as a refreshing beverage which was regarded as very healthful. Non-intoxicating beverages were also made by boiling the leaves and young stems of the sage *(Artemisia aromatica)*, *Leucelene ericoides*, horsemint *(Monarda menthaefolia)*, pennyroyal *(Hedeoma nana)*, as well as the leaves of the lip fern *(Cheilanthes fendleri)* and cota *(Thelesperma gracile)*. This last named species which the Apache call "tea" has been extensively used in common with practically all Indians of southwestern United States, from ancient times down to the present, to make a beverage. Portions of the plant were wrapped into small bundles and might be used fresh or stored indefinitely. When boiled in water a red liquid was produced and was usually consumed without being sweetened, although the addition of a little sugar made the drink even more palatable. A drink used much as is coffee, made by boiling the fresh leaves of mariola *(Parthenium in-* [137] [171] [263] [137]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

292
137 *canum)*, is the beverage known as *gaxe*. (This Indian word was derived from the Spanish word for coffee.)

* * *

296
[137] The Apache used a few species of plants as narcotics. One of these was *Broussonetia secundiflora*, known as "mountain laurel," and also by the Spanish names *frijollito* or *frijolilla*. It is a beautiful evergreen shrub with glossy dark green leaves, common in the Guadalupe Mountains southwest of Carlsbad, although these Apache report having gathered bags full of beans on the roadside in the hills twenty miles from Roswell, as well as in Mexico.

The large, scarlet beans of this legume have been widely reported as being poisonous, having rather marked narcotic effects. The Apache are well aware of its narcotic effect. In
[293] one of their stories the trickster, coyote, intoxicates a party of prospectors by means of the beans. Present day Apache
[293] are not familiar with its use in *tulbai* but they report that the beans were formerly mixed with that beverage occasionally. One of our informants, speaking of the beans, said, "One day I felt sleepy. I ate two of these beans out of a pod. It sure waked me up. I didn't see anything. I just felt good." The beans were rarely eaten by the Apache, however. These seeds were also used ceremonially and an occasional Apache might be seen to wear a string of the red beans around his neck. According to Havard *(10:39)* these seeds contain an alkaloid, sophorine, which is a strong irritant narcotic poison. He also records that, according to Bellanger, the Indians near San Antonio, Texas, formerly used them as an intoxicant, half a bean producing "delirious exhiliration followed by a sleep which lasts two or three days" and that a whole bean would cause death.

[171] Peyote or the Dumpling Cactus *(Lophophora williamsii)*, which contains a powerful alkaloid, was formerly in
[139] common use by the the Indians of northern Mexico who sliced and dried the plant and employed it in association with their
[177] ceremonial dances *(27:104)*. It is reported that the use of Peyote by the Indians was learned from the Mexicans *(28:1)*.